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Further, it is necessary to correct some errors that have crept into the literature concerning Timbira hairdressing. Notwithstanding assertions by Kissenberth and Snethlage,[28] who oddly agree on this, the Canella never cut their hair in mourning; the exact contrary holds, as demonstrated in plate 7, *b*. Moreover, as proved by dozens of my pictures, women and children dress the hair in exactly the same fashion as the men; Snethlage thus errs in declaring that they merely comb their hair away from the face or cut it above the forehead. Oil paintings by the Dutch artist Eckhout which are in the National Museum of Copenhagen suggest that the Otahukayana of Rio Grande do Norte also wore the hair furrow in the seventeenth century. (See pl. 21.) The occipital hair of the Timbira is never braided into a pigtail; a little grass fanlike ornament (hivakúi) (pl. 20, *b*) merely serves to ligature the bunch of occipital hair. A person with very long hair may gather it together, lay the tip up on the back of the head, and secure it there with string. However, this custom—like the use of the hivakúi—is peculiar to men about to engage in a particularly difficult undertaking—formerly, above all when going to battle; and as soon as anyone is seen indulging in the practice he is immediately questioned by everybody as to his plans.

No man's hair is cut by another. The task devolves primarily on his mother, his sisters, female cousins and nieces; his wife may tend to the matter provided it is not a ceremonial cut at the close of a period of mourning or seclusion. Because of this rule men who have been away for a long time have the furrow completely obliterated by the new growth of hair. On their begging trips, however, they usually fall into the hands of some civilized barber who spoils their coiffure for the period of several months.

No attention is paid to the clipped hair, which they either allow to lie about or throw on the garbage, for the Eastern Timbira and the Apinayé do not share the widespread Indian belief that fragments severed from the body can be used in sorcery. On the other hand, the Rąmkõ'kamekra believe that a person who has secured another's hair from the temples thereby is certain of being loved by him or her, for which reason such hair is sometimes clipped clandestinely. The hair cut from women's occiputs at certain festivals is united in a long bundle and hung on a tree in front of the village, whence I was able to carry it off at will. Several times I received the present of a neck-and-forehead ornament consisting of hair tufts mounted brushlike in feather quills or small bamboo tubes.

The Canella have double combs (koiké) composed of little rods (pl. 20, *a*), but today they serve only ceremonial purposes; a norm based on the length of the rods is used in the manufacturing. For practical purposes these combs have been superseded by those of European and Neobrazilian make, but several men, for example, chief Ropką', are themselves able to produce such modern combs out of horn, and these prove far more durable than the purchased articles, which very soon lose their tines in the thick Indian hair.

The people pay a fair amount of attention to their hair. They wash it while bathing by rubbing it between the palms of their hands, and oil it with the oleaginous juice of chewed babassu seeds, which is spat into their hands and then rubbed on the hair. The very greasy beetle larvae that live within the seeds are crushed between the palms and then also used for oiling the hair. Head lice (ikó) occur, especially among children, but have long ceased to be general. I am positive that a considerable number of adults lack them. Anyone becoming aware of lice has his wife or some kinswoman look for them; this person puts them on the palm of her hands.

[28] Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 48. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 148.

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562 licks them up with the tip of her tongue and eats them. Men never indulge in this quest.

826 Long hair in the back is considered beautiful in both sexes. Negro hair is regarded
302 as repulsive; on the other hand, these Indians esteem the fine-textured, smooth hair of pure whites as at least equal in beauty to their own and take delight in stroking it.

Even tribes, like the Gurupy Timbira, who have long since abandoned the ancient mode of hairdressing, still remove eyebrows and lashes. Long eyebrows "like a dog's" are abhorrent to the Canella; they are torn out with the tips of the fingers, which [824] have first been dipped into ashes. In order to avoid unremitting criticism I felt compelled to shave my eyebrows from time to time. An ordinary two-fiber tucum thread serves to remove the eyelashes. A man will hold his hands at a distance of a few centimeters on the thread, twist it so that the fibers separate, then enclose the tips of the lashes with them, tightly twist the thread together again, and jerk off the lashes. Another device is to use the long seeds of the steppe grass, which are provided with a sharp, though barely visible barb. No man ever removes another's
562 eyebrows or lashes; he either does it himself with the aid of a mirror or has some woman do it for him.

[832] Axillary or pubic hair, which appears late and almost always remains scanty, is generally allowed to grow unhindered. However, young girls and, more particularly, village wantons often pluck out the first pubic hair, this being reckoned elegant. Kukênkwę'i, one of the wantons never absent from any festivity of the wakõkama age class, had her pubic hair gently, though forcibly, removed by her friends and age mates at the command of the class leader, Ropką' junior, as they triumphantly reported to me afterward.

According to Pohl, the Põrekamekra of old removed all body hair.[200]

The beard is not plucked out except by young unmarried men provided it should appear at that age, which is a very rare occurrence. Otherwise it is allowed to grow; but whiskers, which hardly ever sprout, are considered ugly.

304 *Perforation of ear lobes.*—Perforated ear lobes (hapakkre) and the hair furrow
881 constitute the most important national badges of the Timbira, the Eastern tribe limiting the perforating of ear lobes to boys. Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra I have often witnessed this operation, which is obligatory before the final initiation phase, but not otherwise fixed in time. Usually it falls into the first phase of the second half of the initiation cycle, that is, when the boys are from ten to fifteen years old and still sexually pure. Snethlage's estimate of six to seven years[201] is thus too low.

The operators, of whom Ponto has three, function simply as experts in this procedure, playing no other part by virtue of their practice. Every boy is operated on separately in his maternal home without any previous preparation. He is made to sit on a mat where there is proper illumination, with either parent behind him [413] and resting both of his or her hands on the lad's shoulders. The perforator, provided with a wooden pin (fig. 3), a gourd bowl holding urucú pigment (pl. 20, *a*), and a pair of bamboo rods the thickness of a match, squats before the subject. He cuts off the hair about the boy's temples, kneads the lobe between his finger tips, dips the tip of his pin into the urucú, and thus marks the spot to be punctured, all this being done with deliberate meticulousness. The perforator leans back to make sure that the spot is in the right place. Taking one of the red bamboo plugs between his lips, he once more seizes the pin and slowly twists it, making an orifice the diameter of a lead pencil, whereupon he immediately inserts the plug. I have

[200] Pohl, Reise, 2:192.
[201] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 150.

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304 never seen the victim move a muscle. After going through the same process on the other ear and after smearing urucú over the wounds, the man forthwith puts a 881 cloth over the boy's head and knots it together below his chin. There is no solemnity about the event; half a dozen boys and girls of the type that want to see everything will look on with interest, otherwise no one pays the least attention. But the operator and the patient both must keep a diet and abstain from any hard labor until the wounds are healed. If time is pressing, it happens that half a dozen boys have their ears pierced on one day or within a few days. In that case they jointly take their meals in front of the village, observing their diet. My query as to the material used before cloth came into vogue remained unanswered.

Over a week after the operation, when the wounds are healed, the boy's maternal uncle goes hunting and kills a deer, smokes its flesh outside the village, wraps it in leaves, and places it in a basket. Unannounced he suddenly dashes toward the plaza with his load, drops it there, and departs. At once all the women except those of the boy's household rush out with knives, each trying to snatch away a slice of the game, though because of their great number only a few succeed. There is a regular scrimmage, so that on one occasion a competitor got a slashed hand instead

Fig. 3. Lobe perforator: wooden pin. Slightly less than ½ nat. size.

of a share in the meat. In another instance the women caught sight of the hunter at a distance, pounced upon him, and snatched away the game long before he could get to the plaza; on this occasion a woman had her nose gashed.

Gradually the orifice is widened by the insertion of successively thicker rods of bamboo and later of wood. As soon as the diameter attains about 4 cm., the further widening is produced by inserting the two index fingers and turning them around each other. It is, above all, the youths secluded during the last phase of initiation who strive for a maximum diameter, but there is great variability from 304 tribe to tribe and from individual to individual. The Western Gaviões perforate 191 their ears, but do not seem to wear strikingly large plugs; and according to Pohl the Põrekamekra specimens were only half an inch in diameter.[288] Those of the Kre'pų'mkateye do not exceed 3.5 cm.; on the other hand, the largest plugs, with a diameter up to 10 cm., occur among the Krahõ' and the Rąmkõ'kamekra and in former times they are said to have been still larger. All of the older Rąmkõ'kamekra recalled a tribesman with plugs of such dimensions that they would clash together in the back of his neck as he ran. My pictures at the last initiation illustrate the variability in size (pl. 4, *a–c*).

304 When the plugs are of the largest size, the lobe of the ears forms a strip barely 832 5 mm. in width that encircles the outer margin as an endless band does its wheel. Such disks (kúi) are the youth's pride and the women's delight. In describing the handsome young man of a tale the narrator will stress the size of his plugs: there is a story about one hero whose disks were so large that he would take them out to sit on them as a stool. Spirally coiled palm leaflets, such as Pohl reports from the Põrekamekra,[289] supersede plugs only in the case of medium-sized holes.

304 When the ear has attained the desired extension, the disk is generally worn only for festive adornment, the lobe normally forming a flapping loop, which is accordingly as a rule slung over the upper edge of the helix. Occasionally some accident

[288] Pohl, Reise, 2:191. [289] Pohl, Reise, 2:192.

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512 535 623 836 The third dance usually commences after 7 P.M. subsequent to the councilors' meeting. It always has the largest attendance, which includes spectators, especially mothers, grandmothers, and aunts who come to watch their girls dance and later escort them home. As a rule the dance lasts until 9 P.M., but sometimes much later. From time to time Čątú, or sometimes one of the councilors, inspires the performers to greater efforts by admonitions, praise, and protracted shouting. At the close of the performance the married folk and the virgins go home, but the unmarried mepantúa and several wantons usually remain in the plaza at the station peculiar to them. A youth who has a mistress crawls under a mat with her that renders the couple invisible. Some one individual may sing on for himself for a while, then there is complete silence in the village until at 3 A.M. the precentor's rattle once more sounds his summons.

535 171 This mode of dancing seems common to all Timbira. I have seen it not only among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, but also among the Krĩkatí, Pụkóbye, Kre'pụ'mkateye, Krahõ', and Apą'nyekra, and the Apinayé manner of dancing is extraordinarily similar.

535 In addition, however, there are a number of dances for amusement into which the nocturnal dance for the most part merges, and of these I will describe the knee (mekonkrãne mekrére) and the arrow dance.

The former I observed in 1933 about the time of the terminal ceremony of the pepyé, but it was not related to that initiation and might just as well have been performed at any other time. At 4 A.M. I was awakened by Čątú, who with another man was getting the girls together. Finally eighteen of them in the company of a precentor were squatting on their heels in a circle round a fire in the plaza. Singing with regularity, the precentor on his knees slid in a circle around the girls, at last vigorously shaking his rattle at one of them. Thereupon she also glided about on her knees, moved outside the circle, then backward in a circle in front of the precentor, moving her arms as in a dance, until she had returned to her position. This was repeated by each girl. Once the precentor glided to the right and the girl toward the left in a circle. In the meantime eight men marched in a slow dance step clockwise round the seated group and sang the "ilire" song, which refers to popere, the electric eel (*Gymnotus* sp.). [533]

The arrow dance, a very jolly affair, was performed one evening almost at dusk. The participants were ten girls, a troop of youths, and a precentor. To one side, at the edge of the plaza, were camped the wakõkama in the station proper to their age class. The order of the dances was the customary one. One youth was holding a bow and arrow in his hand, of which the precentor relieved him during the dance, turning them over to a girl. She stepped out of the line, fitted the arrow to her bow while the dancers continued unperturbed, then with stretched bow chased away the quietly watching wakõkama. Next she turned to the dancing youths, pursued them, and at last discharged one of the arrows at a youth, who of course eluded it with agility. Thereupon she returned to her position, while the precentor turned the weapons over to another girl, etc. But when they had once more got into the youth's possession, he suddenly turned toward the girls, menacing them with the stretched bow so that they dispersed with cries of alarm. But presently they reunited, and the play went on. Sometimes the girls shot at the wakõkama without ever hitting anyone, and the young men responded to each shot with a loud "rrr!" Finally they suddenly leapt up and with uplifted clubs chased the girls in all directions. This ended the entertainment.

535 [532] 789 The dances hardly involve any erotic stimulation, but as a by-product some of

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535 789 the nocturnal ones are said to promote hunting and farming. Before a hunting trip they sing of one game animal after another, recounting the species to be killed. This is really done to improve one's luck, for a hunting party that has met with failure will improvise such dances in camp in order to obtain better results at the last moment; for lack of girl dancers and singers their place is taken by men. I have not been able to discover any difference between such hunters' dances and those of daily life.

A grasshopper dance, with boys dancing in squatting posture, one behind the other, serves to promote the sweet potato crop.

ENGAGEMENT

584 The proposal emanates either from the prospective groom's kinswomen or the bride's, from the bride herself, or—probably most rarely of all—from the groom. Among the Ramkõ'kamekra, too, there are many mothers and aunts who indulge in the harmless pleasure of providing prospective husbands for their daughters and nieces—sometimes very prematurely. Such arrangements are not of course strictly binding, for no one can be coerced into wedlock. In some cases they may actually result in marriage, but for the most part the young people on coming of age do as they please, irrespective of the negotiations entered into by their kindred while the parties concerned were still in their infancy.

834 584 As children the fiancés pay no attention to each other. On attaining maturity a youth visits his betrothed in her platform bed, which she hurriedly elevates to a level directly below the roof, and shields from the sight of the other inmates by a partition of mats (p. 41). However, nobody casts prying eyes in their direction, for in this regard the Timbira display exemplary discretion and considerateness even if personally interested in the relationship of the young people.

833 584 With the noiseless agility typical of the Indians in such circumstances the lad glides into the house in the dark and up into the platform bed. If its creaking did not betray his presence, hardly any resident would notice it any more than his departure a few hours later for the plaza, where he spends the remainder of the night. Such meetings do not lead to defloration, which no lovers would hazard within a dwelling since it always takes place outside the village. Thus it happens that more than one girl who has received a suitor's visit for hours night after night over a prolonged space of time may break the engagement as a virgin. For this reason no one may claim the otherwise customary indemnity from the visitor, and the girl may enter a formal marriage with another man. Pohl already observed this bundling custom among the Põrekamekra and expressed surprise at the maintenance of virginity.[205] It is true that if a girl repeatedly enters and dissolves engagements, she ultimately loses her reputation, is no longer taken seriously by the marriageable young men, and becomes a wanton.

832 834 In so far as no special relationship contravenes, girls exhibit little reserve in contact with men well known to them; they expose themselves in their presence without a sense of shame and freely romp with them while bathing unless half the village should be watching. Anyone who wishes to remain on good terms must not balk at practical jokes, bites, pinching, and scratching as he plays with them. As a rule they grow tender and affectionate only when tired from such strenuous pleasantries. Pining lovers and gallant knights would probably make little impression on these girls, but appear stupid and ridiculous. This does not exclude such suitor's favors as relieving a girl of her load, but this is done as inconspicuously as possible. Indeed, both sexes dislike public demonstration of their feeling

[205] Pohl, Reise, 2:195.

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JEALOUSY

152 836 626 Among young men any expression of jealousy or resentment over a slight would be considered mean and ridiculous. On the other hand, girls take little pains to suppress corresponding sentiments. In a fit of jealousy Kentapí told her lover that she would wait till he was gone, then lure her rival, Muruwá, out into the steppe, club her to death, and lead him to inspect the skeletal remains on his return. Fortunately, as elsewhere, big talk and action do not always coincide in Ponto. As a matter of fact, the two girls could not carry their hostility to extremes because the omnipotent social structure is bound to unite them again and again in defiance of personal sentiments. Such a thing as having a woman declare that she would not attend the afternoon dance lest she meet her rival is wholly inconceivable for a Timbira. Accordingly, soon after these two were seen dancing and singing together in one line.

SEX IDEAL

832 836 784 [64] The Rąmkõ'kamekra ideal for both sexes involves a stature that is not too short; light skin color; long and ample hair; a well-nourished body; small eyes; and a nimble gait. Males are supposed, in addition, to wear large earplugs. A lazybones (čukaká) who plays truant at log races or hunting and obviously evades work will have no luck in getting a wanton, let alone a wife. There were two or three such čukaká in the tribe—one of them probably afflicted with hookworm acquired on some begging trip. The others declared that they had somehow transgressed the food taboos imposed on young people of both sexes relating to the flesh of the little anteater, armadillo, porcupine, paca, capybara, sucurijú and jacaré, and to ostrich eggs, electric eels, and rays—prohibitions removed only after marriage.

832 581 Good log racers arouse the girls' pleasure and admiration, as do good singers and dancers. Yet in the choice of a husband a competent hunter looms as more attractive, lack of skill in the chase being a decided obstacle. Pądnhì had graduated from the initiation ceremonies, was twenty to twenty-two years old, had been long engaged to a girl, and according to the list he recited to me had killed many kinds of game; but he explained that this was far from adequate and that he would have to give many further proofs before marriage. However, there is no formal test; the general impression that a young man is able to supply a wife and family with meat suffices.

The only form of love magic observed is the secret removal of hair from the temples of the beloved person, whereby it is believed possible to assure a permanent union.

PREREQUISITES TO MARRIAGE

582 [831] 881 In former times no young man was permitted to marry before completing the cycle of initiation ceremonies, thereby attaining the status of a warrior, pẽp. Premature sexual intercourse, it is said, impairs one's prowess as a log racer. As described (p. 200), the kuką'kaiką'ra ceremony of the last initiation phase involves the leading of engaged youths by their prospective mothers-in-law. However, the young warriors were by no means obliged to marry at once, being allowed to remain single as long as they pleased; since the difference within a class may amount to as much as ten years, some members had not yet attained the necessary age.

For girls it was essential to have obtained the corded girdle (me'pré) before marriage and to be virgins; and marriage with a virgin was considered indissoluble. This girdle was bestowed after at least one season's service as the associate of some men's organization. The two vų'tẽ' and the warrior girls who graduate from

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582 881 initiation with the young men do not receive their girdle until the close of their term of office—in both cases of about five years' duration. In former days, furthermore, they did not erect the elevated platform bed prior to receipt of the girdle, hence had no previous visits of their lovers at night. This statement, I think, may be accepted as definitely established by the information given by the older Rąmkõ'kamekra. It is the paternal kinswoman who transfers names to a girl that also gives her the girdle.

There are no marriage tests for the Timbira. The log races so often represented as such by earlier writers are in no way connected with matrimony. Agreeing with Abreu, I must emphasize this point because Snethlage expressly reports contradictory information. On the other hand, he rightly corrects Ignace's gross error in crediting the Canella with the ant trial.[328]

832 At present some mothers try to accelerate the development of breasts by dealing a daughter a few light taps against the nipples with their finger joints—usually in the morning on waking up. Girls also practice this custom among themselves. I once observed a ten-year-old girl who for this reason wore a broad grass strip tied tightly across the chest, with a little disk of charcoal over each nipple and under the grass strip.

861 833 582 836 Nowadays only a minority of girls attain puberty as virgins. *De facto* most of them are already married at twelve or have had extramarital relations. On the other hand, I do know a number of girls—the vụ'tẹ' Repiya, for example—who are at least fourteen and still virgins. (See pl. 28, *b*, *c*.) Such chaste girls, who are invariably engaged, are educated for indissoluble wedlock and guarded by their elder kinswomen. As for the rest, one is never sure when their period of betrothal—assuming its existence—ends and when matrimony begins. In the orthodox view they would all be wantons with whom any bachelor might consort freely, breaking the relationship, at least in the absence of offspring, at the will of either party.

As for the youths, at present a considerable number are married before the completion of their initiation. The Rąmkõ'kamekra connive at this transgression, which unlike the present Apinąyé, they do not penalize by forcible separation.

595 All the Eastern Timbira are strictly monogamous; even tradition reports not a single polygynous or polyandrous union. Snethlage correctly rejects Tuggia's allegation[329] that the Krahõ' permit polygamy.

DEFLORATION AND MENSTRUATION

841 833 171 Like their Apinayé cousins,[330] the Rąmkõ'kamekra firmly assert that menstruation is impossible prior to sexual congress. Such a theory is after a fashion intelligible for the Apinayé, whose girls with possibly a few exceptions are actually deflowered before their first menses, but for the Rąmkõ'kamekra it is utterly inconceivable: first, because I personally know a number of girls who were surely of age yet were rated and married as virgins; secondly, as explained above, marriage three generations ago was quite generally not entered before this age *and* in a condition of chastity. This is confirmed by Ribeiro: "Destinam-se entre elles o consorcio das mulheres logo que pouco mais ou menos tenham 14 ou 15 annos." Moreover, says Pohl, writing of the Põrekamekra, "dass hier das Beispiel eines gefallenen Mädchens eine unerhörte Sache sey."[331] The statement by Pohl, cited by Snethlage

[328] Próes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 187. Snethlage, Nordostbras., 171, 183. Ignace, Capiekrans, 147.

[329] Frei Rafael Tuggia, Mappa, 123.

[330] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 75.

[331] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 18. Pohl, Reise, 2:195.

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593 182 Apart from disturbances of this sort and others due to the men's intoxication, marital life pursues an extraordinarily even course. Matrilocal residence safeguards women from their husbands' tyranny, while the manifold masculine organizations militate against henpecking. No woman ever tries to keep her husband from taking part in performances of his organizations; and no man forbids his wife to join in all of the three daily dances. Undoubtedly the multiplicity of ceremonial units tends to separate spouses and promotes each one's acting independently of the other. Man and wife never proceed to a festival or ceremony jointly, each going by himself whenever his presence is required.

837 833 Many a Neobrazilian neighbor acts as though he had difficulty avoiding fornication with Indian girls constantly offered by their fathers. Snethlage[88] thus heard about a mulatto alleged to have secured the *jus primae noctis* of all the virgins in a Krahõ′ village in return for an annual payment of a dozen head of cattle. In 1930 I spent a fortnight in the Krahõ′ village of Pedra Branca. When I was about to leave, the inhabitants and, above all, chief Vicente Kratpẽ′ made every effort to attach me to the tribe, for they had grasped my attitude toward ancient Indian usage and wanted to use me to oppose the Baptist missionaries. I was requested to wait until after a certain festival, but I answered that time would not permit this. Then the chief offered me a girl; I declined. In the evening he and his wife came to me with two girls of whom I was to select the one I liked better. However, both were village wantons, daughters of the chief's sister; and he offered them to me not because I was a transient visitor, but in my capacity of a prospective fellow tribesman and champion of tribal tradition.

548 626 On the other hand, I have known a Ramkõ′kamekra who kept two young wantons, the daughters of a deceased sister, in his matrilineal home, and sold their favors to Neobrazilians. But when people began to gossip about his behavior, it was so vigorously condemned that he felt obliged to forego this source of income.

832 609 According to my observation young girls are the very ones to display a marked repugnance to Neobrazilians, especially if dark skinned and frizzy haired, since the strangers depart widely from the native ideal of manly beauty. Their clothing repels the lasses, their easy-going, sauntering gait seems ridiculous since a kind of dogtrot is prized as the acme of youthful dash; and altogether the inquisitive outsiders prove a disturbing element. If a Neobrazilian joins a bevy of girls, they soon begin to pass surly comments, and the one who best controls Portuguese speech bluntly asks what he wants and bids him depart. They delight in lying to such men, telling them the Indian men are likely to kill them, etc.

833 609 177 It is nevertheless quite possible that older wantons and perhaps an occasional married woman will yield access to civilized men; such cases hardly ever occur in the settlement, but only when the Indians scatter over their territory in small groups during the season before the ripening of the crops. At that time they are everywhere surrounded and hemmed in by Neobrazilians, camp in their immediate vicinity, and associate with them. Further, there was one woman in Ponto who was about thirty years old and was known to the Neobrazilians as Romana. She often spent weeks among them, was the only native woman addicted to drink, and had free intercourse with neighbors; the Indians shunned her, I think, from fear of venereal diseases.

WANTONS

837 562 554 The wantons (mentíapeyti) form—apparently among all those Timbira tribes that are still tolerably numerous and well organized—a recognized, though not organized class. According to old custom, girls are wantons if they did not marry as

[88] Snethlage, Nordostbras. 170.

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the meantime the pepyé's sister several times stroked his hair with the rod comb exclusively designed for this ceremony, finally turning it over to one of the novice's near-by pinčwę'i, who hung it down her back by a neck cord. The catcher now led the pepyé to the door of the house, while his sister was allowed to choose whatever two men she pleased from the crowd of spectators, pulling them along by their hair and placing one on each side of her brother. The sisters are prone to select men with whom they are enjoying or wish to enjoy intimate relations. The two men catch hold of the novice under his arms and conduct him toward the right around the boulevard, his pinčwę'i women taking precedence and, as always in these circumstances, indulging in drollery, while the entire populace accompanies the parade. As the procession moves along the boulevard, three or four anajá palm fronds are hurriedly planted in the ground in front of the house of seclusion and a mat is laid in front, while the pepyé's mother scatters fruits and other victuals in the space before the house. Meanwhile the parade had reached the house façade diametrically opposite to the house of seclusion. At this moment all participants raced transversely across the plaza back to the seclusion house, where each tried to snatch up all he could of the food scattered on the ground. The two men guiding the eastern leader now took him on their shoulders, each alternately carrying him to the mat under the palm fronds, where they set him down.

The same procedure was followed with all the pepyé except the commandant, who for the time being remained interned. However, only the two leaders and the two girl associates were carried to their retreats, the rest being led back afoot. But several pepyé tore themselves free and raced with the crowd unless recaptured on the way. Three or four times the men refrained from racing, leaving the scattered fruits for the women. This performance continued until all the pepyé were standing on the boulevard on the mat under the palm fronds in front of their several retreats.

Next four men successively made the circuit of the village. First came Koipõ'ro, the põhį'kama commandant, who danced before every retreat with outstretched arms and sang a song informing the novices' mothers and sisters that the internment was herewith ended. Second came old To'pó, who halted before each pepyé, rubbed his own left armpit with his right hand, then stroked the novice's face in the manner customary at the ketúaye (p. 177). Third, the snake doctor, Paté, examined the eyes of all novices to ascertain whether any of them was destined to die soon, which he supposedly discovers from the luster and expression of their eyes. Finally, Pąnhí, a young wakõ'kama, did not stop anywhere until he got to the eastern leader's retreat, where he loudly shouted across the plaza. Thereupon all the pepyé, who had until then been standing motionless on their mats, disappeared into their retreats.

In the evening the eastern leader, holding the pepyé lance, and walking along the ring around the back of the houses, assembled all the pepyé, who followed him, shielding themselves with their mats from the gaze of the villagers. Moving from house to house, they received food from their mothers and sisters, which they took to a spot one hundred meters beyond the houses in the steppe to the north. There, masked by chopped-off bundles of twigs held in front of them, To'pó and the other prókama elders were lying in ambush. The eastern leader of the pepyé thrust his lance into the ground, while his followers formed a circle and laid the food on the ground as though wishing to eat here. But To'pó screamed at them that this was no time for eating, that they had better go to sleep at once. Immediately the pepyé abandoned the lance and the food to depart for a spot cleared of grass and shrubbery southwest of the village, about two hundred meters from the boulevard; there they rested during the night on their mats—the first night spent outside of their cells.

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In these huts the members loafed much of the day with their girl associates, who prepared the collected food, painted them, romped with them, and for the most part were not averse to a bit of philandering.[288] The tepr̨ãti, however, bitterly complained that Kahęrkwę'i, one of their two associates, was extraordinarily unaccommodating, would deprecate love affairs, and simply ran off when the members would not leave her alone. Thereupon they went to the council and begged for the appointment of a substitute, so Kahęrkwę'i was superseded by Ačukwę'i, who is considered a veritable gem in point of amiability. As a member of this company I spent much time in the hut and was able to observe all of this episode at close range.

Eight days later the Clowns again indulged in mad pranks. Secretly assembling near the village, in the woods by the bank of a stream, they put on their grass ornaments, that is, bandoleers, wristlets, knee bands, cravat, and forehead band with two erect brushlike tassels and long temple fringes, all of burity bast. Moreover, each Clown made for himself a pole 2 to 3 m. long; it had poker-work designs and a grass tassel below the tip. The two girl associates whom they had meanwhile selected were decorated with falcon down. Besides their cord girdles with short leaf apron, they wore forehead bands, wristlets, and bandoleers like the men's; also they were decorated with false queues over a meter in length, which except for the enormous terminal tassel were wrapped with bast and hung down to their calves. Their bandoleers resembled those of the precentresses, but were coarsely plaited of bast and had huge bast tassels.

The Clowns usually choose ex-vų'tę' for their girls, conducting them from their homes with absurd antics. But at the time of the last performance witnessed, one of these women had recently been delivered of a child, so the members substituted a young married woman named Kąyarí. A jolly lass, she compensated for the shortcomings of the other associate, the ex-vų'tę' Repíya, who somewhat resembled the above-mentioned Kahęrkwę'i in disposition, so that she was little qualified for the part of a Clowns' companion.

For sheer mischief one of the men could not refrain from putting on a girl's leaf apron, producing the same effect as a civilized man would in a woman's clothes. I explicitly emphasize that this was pure buffoonery and in no way betokened a "berdache." By way of contrast to this "bashful" Clown, another sheathed his penis in a long, slightly curved *Lagenaria* tied on so as to form a phallus 30 cm. in length.

However, the main decorative piece of this company was a female doll 60 cm. in height and carved from the pith of the burity. Its face was painted with urucú, and the figure wore beaded cords around the neck, chest, wrists, and knee joints. Kąyarí acted the part of the doll's mother.

In the afternoon the Clowns suddenly marched into the village and went to their hut, where they presently enacted a series of extravagant family scenes, such as I had fortunately never witnessed in real life among the Rąmkõ'kamekra.

First, the doll's "kin" furiously attacked and beat up the "mother" for maltreatment of her child, whom she was accused of having thrown down and otherwise abused. Others took the mother's part, and she herself was not backward in vigorously defending herself, most disrespectfully dragging an old Clown along the ground by one of his legs. There ensued a scene of adultery. One Clown conducted the "mother" behind the hut, where both lay down and simulated cohabitation. Another man arrived and relieved the first. Then the transgression was discovered, precipitating a first-rate row. Finally, the "mother" devotedly sat down, took up her "child," and "nursed" it.

[288] According to earlier notes, one of the male members put food into the girls' mouths.